National Solidarity and International Unity

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PUBLISHED BY THE

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

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Address delivered by the Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Chairman Executive Committee, before the Ninth Annual Convention of the Southern Commercial Congress, New York, October 15, 1917.

FORMER President Roosevelt, in his address at your Third Annual Congress, said, "In the long run all of us are going to go up or go down together." True as this was in time of peace it is doubly true in these times of trial and peril, when all that the country holds dear—its ideals, its institutions, its democracy, its safety at home and its independent national existence—are assailed by a strong and conscienceless autocracy which, to magnify the power of militaristic and murderous dynastic aims, has run amuck to uproot the precious landmarks of civilization and to rebarbarize the world.

The Southern Commercial Congress, which began distinctively as a Southern organization to bring about a closer relationship between the South and the rest of the country, gladly accepted the invitations of the Governor of the State and the Mayor of the City of New York to hold its Ninth Annual Congress in the metropolis of the nation and devote its sessions to the discussion of the pressing national and international problems the world war has made imperative for all of our people and for our country as a whole.

The progressive men of the South—her merchants, business men and statesmen—recognize, even more intensely perhaps than the rest of the country, that the era of sectionalism has passed and that interest, duty, and patriotism alike demand as never before that the North, the East, the South and the West be riveted together in coöperative bonds of national solidarity. Because of a purer racial strain the South preserves

in a more continuous tradition than does any other part of the country the old American spirit which goes back to the formative period of the Republic. Under the impulse of that spirit they have come here to aid in coördinating the resources of the Southland with the other sections of the country to make effective the power of the nation in securing a righteous peace and safeguarding our institutions and the rights of the liberty-loving nations of the world.

Never in its history has the nation faced a crisis fraught with so great danger to her institutions. Both our own interest and our responsibility towards our Allies, who are largely dependent upon our economic support and contribution, make the mobilization of our resources no less important than the conscription of our man power. Our own army and the armies of our Allies are dependent upon the effective organization of the resources and productions of the country. The necessities of the war make clear that we must nationalize our resources and internationalize our coöperative efforts. Under the pressure of necessity we are rapidly reconstructing our national policy and are federalizing ourselves as never before. This fact is evidenced by the creation among others of such national instruments as the Federal Reserve Board, the Export Council, the War Industries' Board, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Food Administration. With the rapid development of our industrial growth the policy of our government, both state and national, in recent years, has been to regulate the combination of industrial and commercial effort. This was necessary among other reasons in order to prevent the growth of power outside of the government greater than the government itself. But to remedy one evil we created other evils. Under the necessity now upon us we are finding it essential so to reconstruct our national policies as to promote instead of retard economic development and growth and to bring about a fuller coöperation between the government and Big Business. Francis H. Sis-

son, the vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company, in a recent address said: "Only yesterday the word 'pooling' was an anathema; today we are pooling food and fuel and ore and oil and transportation. * * * Our railroads, under the paternal aegis of the government, are demonstrating in a marked degree and efficiency of combination in transportation. With only three per cent. increase in equipment they have shown twenty-six per cent. increase in transportation service, simply through being permitted to operate their properties—by agreement among themselves—on a national instead of a sectional or local basis."

Should democracy fail in effectiveness for lack of concentrated control, or because its rulers are its servants, then it must give way to that form of government which can exercise when necessary the effectiveness necessary for its security. In the words of President Wilson: "The battle line of democracy for America stretches from the fields of Flanders to every house and workshop,"—a fact which emphasizes our duty as patriots to promote the fullest coöperation on the part of all of our citizens so as to bring the coordinate power of our country to bear for the protection of those principles which lie at the basis of American Democracy. German autocracy is the very counterpart and antithesis of democracy.

For the past three decades and more, while our Allies and we were preparing to lay the foundations for a durable peace, Germany was perfecting her social and economic fabric and her military machinery for war. When her military officials gathered together their dominant thought was when to begin war, and they hailed each other with the salutation "Der Tag" (the day), when they might find not the occasion but the excuse and most favorable opportunity to strike and to betray the world's trust. Thanks to our Allies, to the brave and intrepid armies of martyred Belgium, to ever valiant France, to calm but resolute and determined Britain, and all the

other Allies, Prussian Kultur with its exaltation of force has been balked and the diabolical aspirations of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs have failed.

The defeat of Prussianism, whether brought about from within or without, will not of itself be sufficient. Out of that defeat must come a constructive arrangement, a change in the moral standards of international relations, which will have behind it an adequate power to safeguard the future liberty and peace of nations. In planning international reconstruction, like wise builders, we must anchor our foundations on the solid rock of assured international good-faith otherwise the colossal sacrifices of lives and treasures our Allies have made in the past three years—sacrifices which from now on we will share with them—will have been made in vain Therefore, no subject can be more weighty and worthy of patriotic consideration than the wisest method and surest plan for such a reconstruction as will promote the development of democracy and safeguard the liberties of mankind

Together with our gallant Allies, we have not entered this war for conquest, for territory, or for power; but to dethrone a system which militates against the most precious gains of civilization and which, unless dethroned, would rebarbarize the world. Germany, in her exaltation of military power, under the guidance of a false philosophy, deliberately taught and preached to corrupt and misguide the conscience of her people, lost sight of the moral motives that control other governments and other peoples. The Emperor of Germany, with a perverted piety, has boastfully claimed that he is responsible to no one but God—not the God of Nations, but his little Hohenzollern God, which he is serving by breaking every law, human and divine. He has boldly stated, "I take my authority from God and from nobody else; I am responsible to Him and to Him alone." Unless the German people will of their own accord enthrone a more righteous God, this

war will have to go on until we enthrone a more righteous God for them and replace the Divine Right of Kings by the Divine Right of the People. Along this avenue of human progress have marched the majestic forces of civilization, from the fall of Nero to the rise of Washington, and will continue to march until all nations are agreed that righteousness and righteousness alone will exalt a nation.

This war and the mighty forces that are arrayed in it—the peace and liberty-loving Allies on the one side, and the military dynasties of Germany, Austria and Turkey on the other—make clear that a righteous peace can not be secured and maintained except through a victory for the principles of international good-faith under democratic control followed by the establishment of a "League of Honor" sufficiently powerful to guard the future from a like assault against civilization. Together with her Allies America will continue to fight for such an outcome, until, in the language of former President Taft, we "conquer peace,"—a peace of justice, not an imposed peace of might only without justice, but of justice fortified by the associated might of a League of Nations.

BOOK CRAFTSMEN'S PRESS
NEW YORK, N. Y.